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Secondary Education in Washington State: A Historical Look at Teaching Change in a Changing World

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Abstract

High schools are under increasing demands to ensure that all students graduate ready for careers and college. This is a difficult task given the ever-changing characteristics of the students, the colleges/universities, and the labor markets that receive them upon graduation. This article provides an analysis of the earliest high schools in the State of Washington at the turn of the 19th century. The analysis illustrates a series of shifts and adaptations undertaken by schools to meet the rapidly changing landscape in the communities in which they were situated. The study was done through extensive archival research on the earliest programs of study offered by Washington State schools and illustrates the changes that these schools went through during this time. This historical lens provides an important template with which to evaluate current school structures as they continue to look for ways to provide a meaningful education for all students.

With growing attention being directed at high school dropout rates nationally, the practices of high schools are under increasing scrutiny. Educational attainment has long been an important part of the fabric of American society. As Thomas Jefferson wrote in a 1787 letter to James Madison; "...above all things I hope the education of the common people will be attended to: convinced that on their good senses we may rely with the most security for the preservation of a due degree of liberty." Today, this legacy continues as American educators strive to provide opportunities for millions of children.

While high schools look to reduce troublesome dropout rates, it is possible to imagine changes to programs of study offered to meet the demands of a diverse high school student body. Increasingly, communities are setting the goal that students graduate from high school ready for a career and college. The recently study out of Harvard University, *Pathways To Prosperity: Meeting the Challenge of Preparing Young Americans for the 21st Century* (2010), argues that students drop out because "…too many can't see a clear, transparent connection between their program of study and tangible opportunities in the labor market (p. 10-11)." A look at history can provide a helpful lens through which to view this issue since high schools historically have had to change to meet the changing world. Additionally, this history provides context for teachers to consider their role in helping students make connections between the work in school and the future work outside of school.

The story of the inception and subsequent rapid growth of high schools in the state of Washington helps to illustrate schools that changed to meet a changing world. For the purpose of this research, the period examined begins with publically funded high schools in the Territory of Washington (1874) until roughly the conclusion of World War I (1919). This article provides the context for growth and the accompanying need for change within the earliest high schools in Washington state and also provides examples of the evolving and changing programs of study that were offered to meet these changing needs. This historical story provides context to current

recommendation, such as those made by the *Pathways* study that support efforts to "…broaden the range of high-quality pathways that we offer to our young people, beginning in high school (p. 24)." The historical perspective outlined in this article is utilized to inform some possible lessons that might help schools continue to deliver programs of study that engage students and prepare them to be college/career ready.

Northwest History – Natural Resources and Trade Vehicles

The Pacific Northwest, until the outset of World War II, could be described, as a "colonial hinterland" (p.2) as Carlos Schwantes (1989) viewed it in his exceptional book, *The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History*. Schwantes uses this phrase to indicate the remoteness of the Pacific Northwest from main centers of economic and political power. Even though modernization of early 20th Century America, as well as the onset of the Second World War, brought significant change in the connectedness of the Pacific Northwest to the rest of the country and the world, this area remained relatively isolated. The description of the Pacific Northwest as a hinterland, however, becomes obsolete because of the rich resources that propelled the region into a role of supplying raw materials to the rest of the world (Berner, 1991; Fuller, 1960; Kensel, 1969; Nesbit and Gates, 1946; Schwantes, 1989). The explosion of the timber industry in Tacoma and other areas along the West Coast, the growth of the agricultural industry in the Palouse region of Eastern Washington (Nesbit and Gates, 1946), and the development of the mining industry of the Silver Valley (Kensel, 1969) accompanied by the completion of the railroad hubs of Tacoma, Seattle and Spokane (Fuller, 1938) all precipitated significant population growth and accompanying economic expansion.

Tacoma (1887) and Spokane (1883), as hubs for the Northern Pacific Railroad, and Seattle (1893), as a hub for the Great Northern Railroad all became transportation centers for goods from the Inland Northwest region, including mining, timber and agricultural products, and as a jumping-off point for the Klondike gold rush (1897) in Alaska (Schwantes, 1989). While manufacturing was to come later to the Northwest, it was the trade of the abundant natural resources that drove economic and subsequent population growth, which in turn led to the rapid growth of high schools in the region (Berner, 1991). From 1900-1920 Seattle and Spokane populations increased from roughly 80,000 to 315,000 and 20,000 to 104,000 respectively (US Census Bureau, 2000).

When the Hudson's Bay Company constructed a sawmill on the Columbia River in 1828, it encouraged the timber and forestry industries that would change the face of the physical and economic landscape of the Northwest forever. Domestic and international trade also grew out of the ports of Seattle and Tacoma via the Pacific Ocean. The California Gold Rush of 1849, the Timber and Stone Act of 1878, and the corresponding railroad development, all added to the growth of the timber market in the Pacific Northwest (Ficken, 1987).

While the timber and lumber industry may have been a primary engine of Western Washington economic development, it was the fertile soil and quality weather of Eastern Washington that fueled the agricultural industry's domination of the economic development in that region. Nesbit and Gates (1946) characterized this impact on Eastern Washington as "the development of a vigorous farm community" (p. 295) that grew, in production numbers, from $8.5 million in 1889 to $63 million by 1910 (p. 297). This growth led to the doubling of farm acres in the Palouse district during the last decade of the 19th century.

Even though Spokane and Seattle were not mining cities, both benefited from the growth

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of the mining districts of the Silver Valley in Idaho, the Colville and Okanogan regions in Washington, the Okanogan and Kootenay regions of southern Canada, and the Klondike gold rush of Alaska. Seattle, through the lumber demands brought on by the California Gold Rush of 1849 and the outfitting demands of the Klondike Gold Rush of 1897, and Spokane, through the outfitting demands generated out of the Silver Valley, were profoundly impacted by this economic growth.

The growing role of Seattle and Spokane as transportation hubs precipitated the evolution from the colonial hinterland described by Schwantes to that of a global economic power. These sources of growth: sea-port and railroad trade; agricultural, mining and timber resources, were the engines behind the rapid growth of the region. The rapid growth of the Northwest region reflected the national trends of growth and development at the turn of the 20th Century. Significant population increases, due to immigration and economic growth, spurred industrialization and caused significant change in the United States as well as the Pacific Northwest. This change did not escape the K-12 school system and was, in fact, responsible for a paradigm shift within public education and within secondary education more specifically. This shift was from a one-size-fits-all model to one with a diverse set of offerings from which to choose. The end of the 20th Century ushered in a pronounced period of change for secondary schools in the Northwest.

Growth of High Schools and Accompanying National Policy Trends

The National Education Association, at the turn of the 20th Century, played a significant role in the establishment of a national educational policy through the release of two reports: *The Committee of Ten* (1892) and *The Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* (1918). These two reports are arguably two of the most significant educational policy developments in secondary education in the United States. The *Committee of Ten*, led by Harvard President, Charles Elliot, came about in part due to the rapidly growing enrollments of American high schools. Herbert Kliebard (1995), talks of a "massive new influx of students into secondary schools beginning around 1890" (p. 7). High school-age youth were attending secondary schools at rates of 6-7% in 1890 but grew to 11% by 1900, 33% by 1920, and to over 51% by 1930 (p. 8). The purpose of the *Committee* was to articulate the principle subjects that should make up the secondary school curriculum. The group was charged with the task of reporting on "…the general subject of uniformity in school programmes and in requirements for admission to college" (National Education Association, 1893, p. 3).

The report of the *Committee of Ten* reflected a national motivation to develop a uniform system of secondary education. The objective of the report was to provide for a level of standardization and uniformity as "…it is obviously desirable that the colleges and scientific schools should be accessible to all boys or girls who have completed creditably the secondary school course" (p. 52). Prior to 1890, schools were a very local affair with very different models of delivery across the nation. It is important to make note of the *Committee*'s proposed national standardization for the secondary schools as it started a process continued by recommendations of the forthcoming *Cardinal Principles Report*. The differences in the content categories for instruction in particular, constitute a significant change in the design of secondary schools.

The NEA report titled *The Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* was released in 1918. This report focused on a shift from the largely humanistic, classical, liberal arts approach of the college preparatory design presented by *Committee of Ten* to the new trend in the

availability of different programs of study that the *Cardinal Principles* report called for from American high schools.

The story that emerges relative to this phenomenon is paralleled by the story of the development of secondary schools in the state of Washington. Similar to the development nationally, the public schools went through significant growth which reflected both the general population growth and the growing demand for schooling beyond the elementary years. Also, the Washington story is one that reflects national policy trends and, in fact, pre-dates the policy of offering a diversified set of tracks with in some cases. That these modifications had already begun in Washington State is born out through the local context of Seattle and Spokane public high schools, both of which had diversified their program of studies reflecting the changing demands on high schools.

Local Context – Growth of High Schools in Washington State

The growth and development of public high schools in the state of Washington in many ways mirrored the development nationally and reflected dramatic change as a result. Rapid population growth stemmed from increased migration to the West, as well as the rapid economic development that accompanied the growing industries of the region. The following population figures for Washington State reflect the significant population growth that occurred during the late-19th and early 20th Centuries: 1880= 75,116; 1890 = 357, 232; 1900 = 518,103; 1910 = 1,141,990; 1920 = 1,356,621 (US Census Figures for Washington Territory and State). This represents a 1,706 % increase in population over the course of 40 years. These statistics reflect a rapidly changing landscape driven by the development of the resource-based industries which defined the regional development such as timber, mining and agriculture. These various industries created new opportunities and provided the population with wages, leading to the growth of urban centers and precipitating the development of the earliest public high schools in the state.

The population growth that Washington experienced helps provide a local perspective on the related growth of the national public school system as well. High schools in particular saw a massive increase in number and in total student attendance. The Commissioner of Education's *Report* of 1889-1890 listed 2,526 public high schools serving 202,963 students nationally. By 1910, the number of schools had grown to 10,213 and by 1920, 14,325 schools were serving 1,851,965 students nationally (U.S. Bureau of Education, 1923, p. 497). These reports and accompanying national statistics illustrate the dramatic changes taking place around secondary education reform.

University Preparatory Department

The history of secondary education in the state of Washington is embedded in the history of higher education in the state. It begins in 1862 with the establishment of the Territorial University of Washington in Seattle. The earliest available course catalogues from Washington's Territorial University appear in 1874-1875. These catalogues include a two-year Preparatory, also called Academic, course of study. This constitutes the earliest high school program funded by public dollars in the Territory of Washington. For several years the University provided a senior preparatory department for high school students in the greater Seattle area (Bolton, 1933, p. 274). The course of study provided by the University was expanded to include multiple courses of study. As early as 1878 the University was providing Classical, Scientific, Normal

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and Commercial Courses of Study (Territorial University Course Catalogue, 1878, p. 9; see Table 1).

The University's work within the area of secondary education provides additional insight into the general status of the high school movement throughout the state. The University, in part, provided a preparatory department due to the fact that "…our common school system is in so imperfect a condition…" (Meany, 1946, p. 46) that students were not adequately prepared to undertake university studies upon entrance. It wasn't until 1891 that the University adopted a policy of acceptance such that "Students holding diplomas from any Public High School of the State of Washington shall be admitted without examination" (University of Washington Course Catalogue, 1891, p. 11). The Board of Regents requested that the State Superintendent "…use his best endeavor to secure uniformity in course of study" (Regents Report, 1894, p. 25). This report articulates the impact that higher education standards were having on secondary schools' programs of study. As of 1895, the Regents approved the high schools in the cities of Spokane, Tacoma, Seattle, New Whatcom and Fairview as adequate to advancing students for admission to the University (University Course Catalogue, 1894). With this action, the University discontinued its high school program.

Table 1
High School Courses of Study, Territorial University of Washington, 1880 (Bolton, 1933, p. 275)

Fall Term	Winter Term	Spring Term
	Classical Course	
Caesar,	Caesar,	Cicero,
Greek Lessons,	Greek Lessons,	Zenophon,
History	Algebra	Algebra
	Scientific Course	
Latin Reader,	Latin Reader,	Latin Reader,
History,	Algebra,	Algebra,
Arithmetic	History	English Composition
	Normal Course	
History,	Algebra,	Algebra,
English Grammar,	English Grammar,	Elements of Rhetoric,
Arithmetic,	Natural Philosophy,	C.S. Bookkeeping,
Penmanship	Reading	U.S. History
	Commercial Course	
Arithmetic,	Algebra,	Algebra,
English Grammar,	English Grammar,	Elements of Rhetoric,
General History,	Natural Philosophy,	U.S. History,
Penmanship	Spelling	C.S. Bookkeeping

Seattle Public High School(s)

Seattle High School graduated its first class with twelve students in June of 1886. While the city had students enrolled in high school courses beginning in 1883, it wasn't until 1886 that students eventually graduated (Report of the City Superintendent of Public Schools of Seattle, 1885, pp. 14), and graduation rates began a period of rapid growth (see Table 2). These align well to the rapid population growth of the city discussed earlier.

The first public high school in Seattle had a program of study which was described as a "scientific one, requiring three years' time for its completion" (Annual Report of the City Superintendent of Seattle, 1884, p. 14). This course of study remained largely unchanged until 1891. At that time, the Seattle Public School Board adopted a much more comprehensive curriculum, one that reflected the differentiation of course and program offerings and one that reflected what was beginning to happen nationally. It would seem, in fact, that Seattle was at least ahead of the national policy initiatives, given that these reforms reflected a countrywide strategy that was not to be published until nearly twenty-five years later. The alternatives to the Classical Course of Study, known as the Latin Course in many cases, reflected the trend in high schools during this time to provide diversified options based on student interest and their projected needs following completion of high school. In pursuit of this, the district also adopted a three-year course of study in Industrial or Manual Arts Training. This course positioned the high schools as preparatory institutions for either future studies (college or university) or future work following the completion of high school study. With this in mind, the district added an Industrial Course, which was a modification of the Scientific/English course with additional work in shop and laboratory.

Table 2

Graduation figures for Seattle High School: 1886-1919 (Lash, 1934, p. 207)

Year	Graduates	Year	Graduates	Year	Graduates
1886	12	1898	71	1910	490
1887	8	1899	46	1911	583
1888	9	1900	54	1912	602
1889	10	1901	95	1913	678
1890	8	1902	92	1914	730
1891	9	1903	103	1915	881
1892	10	1904	107	1916	924
1893	15	1905	161	1917	1,015
1894	25	1906	202	1918	871
1895	21	1907	257	1919	1,019
1896	52	1908	350	1920	1,204
1897	42	1909	400		

The Industrial course was "…valuable directly and incidentally" as it did "…much to fit young people for service in the ordinary vocations of life" (Board of Education Annual Report, 1891, p. 118). The employment of manual training, through coursework in subjects such as Carpentry, Iron Work – Forging and Machine Tool Work, was meant to develop the skills in the manual labor and domestic duties of the time, but to also "train the hands and eyes of the pupils while their minds are being developed" (p. 118). The course of study in Industrial training had a civic purpose as well, according to State Superintendent Barnard. "We should have skilled labor in this country to compete with the skilled labor of foreign countries" (Annual Board of Education Report, 1892, p. 98). Given the rapid growth of the mining and timber industries in particular, this perspective underlines the two parallel objectives of the Industrial Course of Study in Seattle High School: experiential education in manual arts would train the hands and

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eyes as well as minds; the role of the high school in preparing students for life following their completion of high school. The elective trend that marked this period in public schools is Table 3

Seattle Public Schools Program of Study (Seattle Board of Education Report, 1899)

Classes	English Studies	Latin Scientific	Modern Language	Classical	Manual Training
1st Year	• English • Algebra • Physiology • Phys. Geog. • Drawing	• Latin • Algebra • Physiology • Phys. Geog. • Drawing	• English • Algebra • Physiology • Phys. Geog. • Drawing	• English • Algebra • Latin • Drawing	• Eng, Latin or German • Algebra • Drawing • Carpentry • Wood Carving
2nd Year	• Rhetoric • Plane Geometry • Civics • Botany • Drawing • Composition Writing	• Latin • Plane Geometry • Botany • Drawing • Composition Writing	• German or French • Plane Geometry • General History • Drawing • Composition Writing	• Latin • Plane Geometry • Rhetoric & English Literature • Drawing • Composition Writing	• Physiology • Phys. Geog. • Plane Geometry • Drawing • Wood Turning • Pattern Making • Composition Writing
3rd Year	• General History • Physics • Review of Arithmetic • Zoology • Drawing • Composition Writing	• General History • Physics • Review of Arithmetic • Zoology • Drawing • Composition Writing	• English Literature • Physics • German or French • Drawing • Composition Writing	• Latin • Physics • German or French • English Literature • Drawing • Composition Writing	• General History • Solid Geometry • Review of Arithmetic • Physics • Drawing • Forging • English Literature • Composition Writing
4th Year	• English Literature • Chemistry • Mineralogy • Political Economy • U.S. History • Descriptive Astronomy or Elementary Psychology • Composition Writing	• English Literature • Chemistry • Mineralogy • Political Economy • U.S. History • Descriptive Astronomy or Elementary Psychology • Composition Writing	• German or French • Chemistry or Botany • Political Economy • U.S. History • Review of Arithmetic • Composition Writing	• Latin • German or French • General History • English Literature • Composition Writing	• Botany or Zoology • Civics • Political Economy • Chemistry • English Literature • Drawing • Machine Work • Composition Writing

reflected in the 1899 program of study adopted by the Seattle School Board (see Table 3). This

trend was in response to the changing labor markets which had new demands as to the type of workers that were needed from a comprehensive high school.

The above described programs of study served as the framework for the Seattle Public School's high school curriculum through the next couple of decades. These diversified offerings reflected the "…proper recognition to new-felt social needs and demands: eg. to physical well being, vocational training, and training for carrying on the responsibilities of citizenship in a democracy" (Superintendent's Report, 1921, p. 52). The role of the schools to prepare students for the activities which lay beyond high school, whether further academic or industrial studies or entry into the labor market, precipitated the need to "…classify these purposes by careful supervision into lines of high school work that the students can follow to their best advantage" (p. 57). These trends emerged in the courses of study across the Cascade Range in Spokane Public High Schools during this time as well.

Spokane Public High School(s)

Spokane graduated its first high school class of seven pupils in 1891. While students had begun attending classes beyond the eighth grade, it was not until June 26th, 1891 that a four-year course of study was completed (Biennial Report of Public Schools of Spokane, 1891, p. 151). Spokane experienced a rising demand for secondary education that accompanied the population and economic growth that marked the early 20th century in the Spokane area. The total population, at the beginning of 1890 in Spokane, was 19,922 people. Over the course of the next twenty years, Spokane experienced dramatic growth reaching a total population of 104,402 people by 1910. This five-fold increase in total population of the city was outdone by the thirty-fold increase in high school graduates. The first graduating class of seven students pales in comparison to the 1920 graduating class of 486 (Pratt, 1942, p. 38). See Table 4.

The numbers in Table 4 help highlight the growing demand on the school brought on by increased enrollment. The course of study found in Table 5 reflects the same offerings available to the first graduates in 1891, with one notable exception, the addition of the Industrial Course of Study. This program was added with similar reasoning as cited in Seattle, the new labor demands "…great changes…taking place in the social and industrial life" (Biennial Report of the Public Schools of Spokane, 1892, p. 43) and of a rapidly growing city. The growing student

Table 4

Graduation figures for Spokane High School 1891-1919 (Pratt, p. 38)

Year	Graduates	Year	Graduates	Year	Graduates
1891	7	1901	58	1911	223
1892	8	1902	66	1912	245
1893	9	1903	64	1913	288
1894	10	1904	89	1914	360
1895	20	1905	116	1915	392
1896	37	1906	137	1916	420
1897	31	1907	153	1917	413
1898	26	1908	184	1918	483
1899	35	1909	193	1919	447
1900	38	1910	219	1920	486

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population at the high school was able to experience an increasing list of courses and programs of study, as reflected in Table 5.

Table 5

Spokane High School Programs of Study, 1892

	Latin Course	Scientific	English	Industrial
9th Grade	• Int. Algebra • Physical and Polit. Geog. • Latin Gram. and Reader • Drawing • Civics	• Int. Algebra • Physical and Polit. Geog. • English Grammar • Drawing • Eng. Gram. and Comp. • Civics	• Int. Algebra • Physical and Polit. Geog. • English Grammar • Drawing • Eng, Gram. and Comp. • Civics	• Int. Alegbra • Physical and Polit. Geog • English Grammar Drawing • Eng. Gram. and Comp. • Civics
10th Grade	• Higher Arithmetic • German • Caesar and Prose Comp. • Caesar and Prose • Higher Algebra • Botany	• Higher Arithmetic • German • Book-keeping • High Algebra • Rhetoric • Botany	• Higher Arithmetic • Eng. History or Drawing • Book-keeping • Higher Algebra • Rhetoric • Botany	• Drawing • Eng. History or Higher Arithmetic • Book-keeping • Carpentry • Rhetoric
11th Grade	• Natural Philosophy • German • Cicero and Prose • Central History • Geometry • English Literature	• Natural Philosophy • German • American Literature • General History • Geometry • English Literature	• Natural Philosophy • Drawing • American Literature • General History • Geometry • English Literature	• Natural Philosophy • Drawing • American Literature • Wood Work • Geometry • Metal Work • English Literature
12th Grade	• German • Geometry • Virgil • Chemistry • Psychology • Geology	• German • Geometry • Astronomy • Chemistry • Zoology • Psychology • Geology	• Geometry • Astronomy • Chemistry • Zoology • Psychology • Geology	• Geometry • Chemistry • Astronomy • Metal Work • Psychology • Zoology • Geology

Two years following the withdrawal of the Industrial Course of Study, the Courses of

Study again changed with the division of the Latin course into the Latin and Classical Courses of Study. The addition of the Classical Study reflected the trend of developing a course of study to meet the university admission trends during the time. The statistics on the number of graduates in each course of study from 1901-1902, demonstrate the prevalence of the Latin course as the primary choice by students during the time. The following breakdown reflects the distribution of students in the respective courses of study: Classical = 4, Scientific = 20, Latin = 83, English = 16 (Biennial Report of the Public Schools of Spokane, 1902, p. 54).

The Commercial course of study returned in 1904 as a result of the rapid growth of high schools. It was clear that "…this department of the public schools system is becoming more and more popular and its value greatly enhanced as its curriculum is being extended to include subjects of practical value to the masses, as well as culture and discipline" (Biennial Report of Public Schools of Washington, 1904, p. 15). The enrollment figures in the high school reflected "…the large preponderance of girls over boys…attributed partly to the fact that there is in this city an exceptionally strong demand for boys of high school age to work in stores and offices…and partly to the absence from our course of studies which involve the element of Manual Training" (p. 15). This statement reflects two main themes that emerged from the changing landscape of the Courses of Study: the high schools responded to the growing demands resulting from the mix of students attending the schools - those destined for college and those destined for the workforce; and the high schools responded to labor demands of the local economy. These efforts on the part of the schools provided skills which would be of service to students who desired blue collar jobs following the completion of high school.

The return of the Commercial course in 1904 was important in that "…over 40 per cent of the last entering class enrolled in this course" (Biennial Report of the Spokane Public Schools, 1906, p. 20). Such a significant interest in this course is remarkable, given its short lifespan of two years, and underlines the rising demand for this type of program in an increasingly industrialized Spokane. The Principal of Spokane High School at the time, David Cloyd, commented that this increase "emphasizes the fact that commercial interests are calling for well-educated and technically trained men and women who are looking to the High School for a thorough and extensive course of instruction" (p. 20). This demand extended beyond the mercantile-based curriculum of the Commercial Course to the more labor-based curriculum course of study in Manual Training added in 1906. This new program of study, in addition to the courses in the Commercial Program, added mechanical drawing and shop work for boys and domestic art and freehand drawing for girls (p. 27).

The enrollment statistics in 1916 at Lewis and Clark High School, Spokane's first high school, reflect the demand that persisted for a diversified offering of courses of study at the secondary level. The Academic program (787 students), which consisted of the college preparatory track (Classical Course) as well as the more general courses of study (Scientific and General), was the most popular track. However, if one were to combine the Commercial (451 students) and the Vocational (Manual Training – 191 students and Home Economics – 362 students) it becomes apparent that there was a great deal of demand for both (Biennial Report of the Spokane Public Schools, 1916, p. 47). This reinforces two major themes that emerged from the curriculum at both Spokane and Seattle Public high schools, 1) the significance of a diversified program of study in response to the diverse demands of the students for their coursework, and 2) the demands of the community at large on their high schools to provide the skills and training necessary for students to be productive as a result of a high school education.

It is clear from an evaluation of the various courses of study, and from the comments of

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the superintendents and principals in the annual report, that high schools served a broad role in their Washington communities. With the growing enrollment of students, and the expanding labor and commercial needs of the Spokane and Seattle communities, the schools were expected to meet the diversified needs that these two trends precipitated. These clearly were schools responding to the diversifying students and accompanying needs of the communities.

Conclusion

The above information helps to illustrate the fact that, historically, public schools were pulled in different directions as a result of the rapidly diversifying population at the high school level. Colleges demanded specific expectations: that these schools should provide a classical curriculum that would prepare students appropriately for the knowledge and skills necessary to succeed in higher education. Local labor markets also demanded a new skilled worker from the high schools and as a result caused the evolution of a strictly classical program of study. The public schools were able to navigate these competing demands by the colleges and the labor markets by allowing students to choose a more specialized program to meet their individual needs. High schools students could now choose from as many as five programs of study.

While this article is not recommending a return to the tracking model of the early 20th century, there are important lessons that could be learned from differentiating student experiences through diverse programs of study that align well with trends in college and career readiness efforts undertaken by high schools. As suggested in the *Pathways* (2010) study introduced earlier, various "…well-developed, high quality vocational education programs provide excellent pathways for many your people to enter the adult work force (p. 38)." In particular, 21st century learning should engage in instruction that is aligned to students' lives outside of school, integrates technology and pedagogy, and engages with partnerships that allow for meaningful career development (Christen, 2009). Additionally, recent research on college and career readiness standards has led the American College Testing (ACT) organization to provide guidelines that: encourage students to make connections between subject content and occupational skills; connect studies to the work world; explore career alternatives; provide career-related experiences and adult mentors (ACT, 2010). The various programs of study historically undertaken by Washington high schools may provide models of delivery that would allow schools to differentiate student experiences such that connections between academic skills could be made to career and college pursuits that demand a similar set of proficiencies.

The changes undertaken by high schools in the past hold important lessons for schools today, and therefore practicing teachers as well as pre-service teachers. This essay provides a parallel look, through an historical perspective, at the goals of graduating students who are college or career ready. Lessons from the earliest high schools in the state of Washington provide insights into creating a diversified set of opportunities for students as they proceed through school. This model may provide a template for high schools to consider as they continue to confront the changing needs of both their students and either the colleges/universities or the labor markets that receive them upon graduation. While this type of diversification is not without cost, it may provide a lens through which to look when creating an educational experience that aligns to students' needs. Finally, it also provides a pedagogical perspective outlined in the

Pathways (2010) study for teachers to consider: "…that from late adolescence onward, most young people learn best in structured programs that combine work and learning, and where learning is contextual and applied (p. 38)." This perspective, despite the design of high school programs of study, is one that could and should inform the work of practicing and pre-service teachers.

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